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III

AGRICULTURAL POPULATION AND PRODUCTION

121 THE course of Rumanian politics between the wars can be understood only in its economic setting; urgent economic problems constantly demanded the attention of all governments, and at the same time the prevailing poverty and economic backwardness undermined political life and contributed powerfully to the emergence of the dictatorships. This and the following chapter sketch the general features of the economic framework, with particular emphasis upon agriculture and the demographic problem. Industry, commerce, and finance are considered primarily in their relation to the agrarian question.

Population [1]

161 According to the 1930 census, Rumania had a population of
162 18,057,028 persons, the largest of any state in eastern Europe with the exception of Poland. While the density, 61 persons per square kilometer in 1930, was less than that of the more highly industrialized states of western Europe, the population was increasing at a rapid rate. Rumania had one of the highest birth rates in non-Russian Europe as well as the highest death rate. In general, its population pattern resembled that of the other states of eastern Europe, especially Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Ukraine, and was in marked contrast to the stable or declining populations of the West.

163 Eastern Europe is now passing through the phase of great popu-
165 lation growth which began in England and western Europe in the eighteenth century and has since radiated eastward. This phenomenon, one of the most important in European history, appears to have followed a definite sequence: first, a high death rate and a high birth rate, more or less in balance, giving a stable or only slightly expanding population; then the death rate dropped rapidly; finally the birth rate dropped down to or below the death rate. The lag between the fall in the death rate and the subsequent fall in the birth rate produced the great expansion of population. From current evidence

1. More complete statistical information on the population is given in the Appendix.

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it appears that in eastern Europe the birth rate has begun to decline, but its effect will not be reflected in the population for a number of years.

The decline of the death rate in the West resulted from the numerous social, hygienic, and nutritional improvements gradually introduced and disseminated over the last two centuries, all of which were slow in reaching eastern Europe. The subsequent fall in the Western birth rate appears to have been largely a conscious social restriction and not any decline in "national virility." [2] It generally accompanies a rise in living conditions and has shown a direct correlation with class differences.

The extent to which those factors bringing about the growth of population in the West apply to eastern Europe is not known with certainty. The fall in the eastern European death rate after the middle of the nineteenth century appears to have corresponded with the introduction of some of the social and hygienic improvements from the West, but it may also have resulted from a moderate improvement in internal and external security at a somewhat earlier date.[3]

Birth and death rates for Greater Rumania showed a decline during the interwar years, largely a result of drops in the rural rates. The rural birth rate in 1936, however, was still well above that of the towns (33.8 per thousand as against 21.4). The rate of natural increase, the excess of births over deaths, also displayed a perceptible decline, from over 14 per thousand inhabitants in the early 1920's to about 11 in the late 1930's. The birth rate fell greatly during the Second World War (to a low of 19.9 in 1945) and seems to have increased only slightly in the postwar years. The death rate having remained approximately the same, the rate of growth of Rumania's population has diminished tremendously under the exceptional conditions of the past decade.

Agricultural Overpopulation

While Rumania's over-all density of population is not very high as compared with that of western Europe, most of the people live on the land, and the agricultural population is quite dense. In 1941 the agricultural population of Rumania (minus Bessarabia, Northern Bucovina, Northern Transylvania, and Southern Dobrogea) represented 71.4 per cent of the total population and 94.4 per cent of the

2. Dudley Kirk, *Europe's Population in the Interwar Years* (League of Nations, 1946), p. 38.

3. A. M. Carr-Saunders, *World Population: Past Growth and Present Trends* (Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 80.

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rural population.[4] There were 94.3 inhabitants of the agricultural population for every 100 hectares of agricultural land in private hands (including arable surface, meadow, vineyards, orchards, and pastures). Agricultural population was densest in the poor mountainous areas, in contrast to total population which was densest in the plains; in the Oltenian and Muntenian Carpathians 121.5 agricultural inhabitants occupied every 100 hectares of agricultural land in private hands, 112.8 in the Moldavian Carpathians and 108.3 in Bucovina.

That the density of Rumania's agricultural population was relatively high is shown in the following table, comparing Rumania (on the basis of earlier and somewhat different statistics) with other eastern European and some of the western European countries:[5]

Country	*Density of population dependent upon agriculture per square kilometer of "arable-equivalent" * agricultural land, ca. 1930.*
RUMANIA	79.7
Old Kingdom	79.9
Bessarabia	69.7
Bucovina	145.9
Transylvania	81.3
Bulgaria	95.4
Greece	86.7
Yugoslavia	100.1
Hungary	63.1
Poland	86.9
Austria	64.2
Czechoslovakia	59.4
Italy	38.4
Germany	52.1
France	28.6
Netherlands	81.7
Denmark	37.5
England and Wales	33.8

* "Arable-equivalent" is a statistical device to achieve a rough comparability between different types of land (arable, pasture, vineyards, etc.) used for agricultural purposes. A hectare of pasture land is clearly not equivalent to a hectare of arable.

The director of the Rumanian Central Institute of Statistics, in interpreting the results of the 1930 census, concluded that "These

4. Institutul Central de statistică, *Recensământul agricol al României din 1941* (Bucarest, 1945), Table 21.

5. Wilbert E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe* (League of Nations, 1945), pp. 197–204.

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figures permit one to affirm that our country has arrived at the saturation point, and even at an agricultural overpopulation."[6] The term "overpopulation," however, has been subject to numerous interpretations and must be used cautiously.[7] In particular, in Rumania the issue of overpopulation has been too frequently brandished as a political weapon for contending parties.

Surplus population is sometimes defined in terms of an "optimum" population, one that achieves the maximum per capita real income. In such a case overpopulation would mean that a withdrawal of population from the land would increase per capita income since the marginal productivity of the surplus cultivators, given the law of diminishing returns, is less than the average per capita productivity. Apart from the manifold difficulties of determining such an optimum, this approach is somewhat artificial in the case of eastern Europe, where the problem of overpopulation is concerned not with any ideal optimum but with a possible Malthusian nightmare of mass suffocation. To be meaningful in this connection overpopulation must indicate that in some way more people are engaged in agriculture than are required for the type of cultivation prevailing, that they could be withdrawn from the soil without loss in agricultural production, the output of the surplus population being less than the loss occasioned by their presence (soil destruction, irrational holdings, etc.).[8]

It is clear that density alone does not determine overpopulation in this sense, since the Netherlands, for example, had a slightly higher agricultural density than Rumania but with entirely different social and economic consequences because of an intensive form of cultivation. The level of agricultural productivity, expressed in yield per unit of area is also a factor. That is, output per capita (C), which ultimately determines the level of existence, is equivalent to yield per unit of area (Y) divided by the density of agricultural population (D): $C = \frac{Y}{D}$.

Now for purposes of general orientation it is possible to make a rough comparison of this equation for Rumania with that for

6. Sabin Manuila, *Structure et évolution de la population rurale* (Bucarest, 1940), p. 17.

7. For discussions of the definition of overpopulation see Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–77; Carr-Saunders, *op. cit.*, pp. 330–331; and "The Problem of Surplus Agricultural Population," *International Journal of Agrarian Affairs*, *1*, No. 1 (October, 1939); the entire issue is devoted to articles on the question.

8. If overpopulation is not defined in some such sense as this, it is necessary to consider alternative means of employment for the surplus population, unless the surplus is to be physically liquidated. This problem will be discussed presently in connection with town and country relations.

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161 Europe as a whole.[9] If we take Europe to be the norm, $C = \frac{Y}{D}$, then the equivalent equation for Rumania is, very roughly, $.48C = \frac{.69Y}{1.44D}$. That is, Rumania's per capita output in agriculture is only 48 per cent of the European average because the yield is only 69 per cent as great and the density of agricultural population is 44 per cent greater. There are, however, marked regional differences within Rumania. The situation in the Old Kingdom is approximately the same as in Greater Rumania as a whole, but in Bucovina per capita output is only 45 per cent of that for Europe, although yield is 17 per cent above the European average ($.45C = \frac{1.17Y}{2.60D}$) because of the extreme density of the population, over two and a half times that of Europe. On the other hand, in Bessarabia the per capita output is low because of the low yield although the density of agricultural population is only 24 per cent greater than that for Europe ($.45C = \frac{.56Y}{1.24D}$). In Transylvania the per capita output is the highest in Rumania ($.51C = \frac{.74Y}{1.45D}$), a reflection of the generally more advanced level of agriculture in that region which more than compensates for the density of the population.

Some efforts were made in Rumania to calculate the hidden unemployment resulting from overpopulation. In 1933 A. Frunzanescu and C. Vasiliu, after calculating the number of man-days required to carry on a year's agricultural activity in Rumania, estimated that only 43.66 per cent of the potential energy of agricultural labor was actually employed in direct agricultural work, and not over 55 per cent in all farm activities.[10] An investigation of 200 peasant farms of less than 3 hectares and of 100 farms between 3 and 5 hec-

9. See Wilbert E. Moore's work, *op. cit.*, which undertakes to convert European agricultural output and agricultural land into "crop units" and "arable equivalents," statistical devices to render commensurate different kinds of agricultural produce and land. Relying on his basic figures I have used them here in a somewhat different manner. See also Table VII in the Appendix.

10. A. Frunzanescu, *Munca omeneasca in actuala conjuncturu agricolă* (Bucarest, 1935), cited in Madgearu, *Evolutia economiei romdnesti*, p. 48. Estimating an agricultural working population of 9,990,000 men, women, and children to be equivalent to 7,900,000 men, and assuming 235 working days a year, they arrived at a working potential of 1,865,100,000 man-days per year. They then calculated that the total man-days necessary to achieve the various agricultural works in Rumania required only 814,400,000 man-days.

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tares reached the conclusion that on farms under 3 hectares only 38 per cent of the available labor was being utilized and on farms between 3 and 5 hectares, only 60 per cent.[11]

Other indications of overpopulation during the interwar period were the continued expansion of arable at the expense of meadow and pasture (which is reflected in the decline of the number of cattle between 1921 and 1935 from 34 to 24 per 100 inhabitants), the increasing fragmentation of small properties and the extension of holdings under 3 hectares, and the emigration of peasants' sons to Bucarest, especially from the hilly and mountainous districts.[12] Thus there appears to be ample evidence of crowding, land hunger, and widespread hidden unemployment. What were the causes for this appearance of surplus population?

In a study of agricultural overpopulation, written in 1939, H. M. Conacher suggested that a surplus agrarian population could arise in a variety of ways:

1. Under conditions where the Malthusian theory has come true, and the pressure of population on subsistence is severe, usually through excessive fragmentation of land;

2. Under conditions less severe than in (1), where the cultivation of land has come under the formula of diminishing returns through straining a system of husbandry, and this has gone on over a widening area;

3. In cases where the distribution of returns among the different classes of producers is inequitable, with the result that the laborers are much in the same position as might be reached under (2) if they had been landholders;

4. In cases where, apart from the foregoing causes, a rural economy producing for export suffers from a considerable fall in demand, especially if such an economy has been using up its capital in the soil.[13]

In Rumania all these conditions have contributed in varying measure in the different regions. The first condition, in which pressure of population growth is the primary factor, operates as a tendency throughout most of Rumania, but appears to be of particular importance in Bucovina and the Carpathian districts. In 1941 the agricultural population per 100 hectares reached 164.7 in the *judeţ* of Dâmboviţa in the Wallachian Carpathians, 123.4 in Baia in the

11. Madgearu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

12. Nicolae M. Dunăre, *Fii de ţărani ţăranilor ambulanţi în capitală*, Institutul Central de Statistică, Biblioteca Statistică, No. 22 (Bucarest, 1945), p. 6.

13. Contribution by H. M. Conacher in "The Problem of Surplus Agricultural Population," *International Journal of Agrarian Affairs*, *1*, No. 1 (October, 1939), 27.

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● |6| Moldavian Carpathians, 161.1 in Suceava in Bucovina, and 126.3 in Bihor in western Transylvania. Dwarf holdings of less than 3 hectares are most numerous in these judete. The mountainous regions represent an economic dead end; the land is poor and much of it unsuitable for cultivation; the pressure of population has forced the multiplication of dwarf holdings; and social inertia and poverty have limited emigration to less congested areas.

Such extreme population pressure is mainly limited, however, to the mountainous and hilly regions. As has been indicated by the equations already given, agrarian overpopulation for the greater part of Rumania is only in part a demographic problem. The rapid growth of population from the middle of the nineteenth century did not initially cause trouble because of the sparsity of inhabitants in the Danube plain and the great extension of land put under the plough. However, the relatively late emergence of the peasant as a proprietor, the general lack of capital, and the predominant position of large properties under neoserfdom combined to maintain the primacy of extensive grain cultivation. This form of husbandry eventually began to undermine Rumanian agriculture, especially after the expansion of small-scale farming, which was ill-suited to such an emphasis upon cereals. Pasture land was reduced without the substitution of forage crops, livestock declined, and the primitive wheat-maize rotation threatened to deplete even the rich soil of the plains. In the plains regions, then, overpopulation is to some extent the result of the prevailing type and level of agriculture, although the constant increase of population has undoubtedly aggravated the problem.

The fourth way in which a surplus agrarian population arises—through a decline in exports—is only indirectly related to overpopulation and is primarily an economic maladjustment. The general decline of European cereal exports in the face of overseas competition, and particularly the world grain crisis after 1929, intensified the manifestations of overpopulation by depressing the whole agrarian sector of the Rumanian economy. This, however, is a special case.

There remains to be discussed the third way in which a surplus agrarian population arises: through inequitable distribution of returns. In regions dominated by great landowners who control a large part of the soil, the peasants are likely to give the appearance of overpopulation, since they lack sufficient land of their own to support themselves. There is no question that in nineteenth-century Rumania the concentration of land in large estates created land hunger and the symptoms of overpopulation. It should be noted, however, that even by 1907 it was becoming evident that the over-all density of

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agricultural population in relation to the total agricultural land and the level of production was approaching a critical point.

To what extent was distribution a significant factor in overpopulation after the 1918–21 land reforms? To answer this question it is necessary to attempt an investigation of the effects of these reforms upon distribution.

The Distribution of Land [14]

Although the distribution of agricultural land in Rumania has been, if not the core of the agrarian question, at least the focus of attention, and although innumerable books, pamphlets, and articles have dealt with it, it is still difficult to provide a satisfactory picture of land distribution and impossible to give an exact account of its development in time. The incompleteness and irregularity of statistics, the intrusion of wars and the frequent changes of territorial boundaries, the unsettling effect of the agrarian reforms themselves, and on occasion the warping of figures to fit a political thesis have combined to obscure the real situation.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the available statistics it is necessary to be as clear as possible about the use of certain categories and definitions, since confusion over these has been the source of numerous erroneous conclusions. In particular it is indispensable to know what types of land are being included in the term "agricultural," and whether the distribution of land is on the basis of properties or of farming units.

During the interwar years the Rumanian Central Institute of Statistics came to classify land in the manner shown by the table on the following page (the 1936 areas of the respective types of land are included to indicate their comparative size).[15] Earlier Rumanian statistics frequently employed different classifications, and the inclusion or exclusion of pasture and woodland seriously alters the pattern of land distribution.

The second important distinction is between *properties*, based upon legal ownership of the land, and *exploitations*, defined in 1941 as "the area comprising all the land effectively cultivated under the direction and participation of the head of the exploitation." Exploitations and properties are obviously not identical, since an exploita-

14. For a more detailed discussion of the statistics of Rumanian land distribution see the Appendix.

15. Petre Onica, *Tehnica statisticii agricole*, Institutul Central de Statistică, Biblioteca Statistică, No. 9 (Bucarest, 1943), p. 17.

342 A MARKED FEATURE is the comparative absence of chimneys.
374 The cooking is done in an outhouse, no doubt to minimise the risk of fire, but the dwelling house is generally heated by a stove, the smoke from which passes up through the ceiling in an iron pipe and then escapes into the open air through holes cut in the gable ends or, in the case of a hipped roof, through a small louvre.

345 THE OUTHOUSES are for the most part simple structures and call for no special comment.

511 CLEANLINESS and simplicity are the keynotes of the domestic economy. Household effects are kept down to a minimum, but upon their manufacture an enormous amount of time and skill is lavished, especially in the case of textiles. The skilfully-woven designs on the tapestries and pillows shown Plate XVI are an illustration of such effort.

● POPULATION.

161 ACCORDING to the 1930 census Corbu had a population of
563 1,563, distributed among 358 households. The majority of the inhabitants are, of course, Roumanians, for the commune lies right on the fringe of the Szekler country. In spite of having lived in close association with the Roumanians for many generations, however, the Szeklers are easily distinguished by their dress, their physical type (though this is by no means an infallible guide), their adherence to Roman Catholicism, and, of course, their language. Although culturally there is an appreciable difference between the Roumanian and Szekler peasantry, there is to-day an even wider gap between these folk and the Tsiganes or Gipsies who form a much smaller, though very interesting, minority.
142 Generally speaking, the Roumanians contribute a dark, and the Szeklers a fair, element to the broad-headed population, whereas the Gipsies are for the most part distinctly long-headed and very dark. There is an equally well-marked difference on economic grounds, for both Roumanians and Szeklers are essentially peasants, whereas the Gipsy, being landless, is compelled to seek a livelihood by trading, unless he be either smith or musician, following the traditional pursuits of his forbears (see Plate VI).

342 THE HOUSES occupied by Gipsies, while resembling in style
563 those of the peasants, can usually be recognised by the

361 tions, but we know of nothing there before 1510. To the
771 existence of the monastery, which is the seat of a bishop, is due the development of a seminary.

161 THE POPULATION in 1930 was 6,831. In 1931 there were 181
163 births, 24 infant deaths (under one year), 20 still-births, and 125 deaths from all causes. Marriages numbered 61 and divorces 4. The birth-rate is thus high, the infant death-rate considerable, but not so high as might be expected; still-births are numerous.

H. J. F.
E. E. E.

1[of Curtea de Arges -- Analyst]

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BROWN CLAY.
WHITE & GREEN SLIP.

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDI Rumania EDI

MEDICAL CONDITIONS AT CURTEA DE ARGEŞ

CURTEA DE ARGEŞ is a small town of 6,831 inhabitants (in 1930), situated in the valley of the River Argeş, at an altitude of 1,400 feet.

A SERIES of wells supply the town with water, there being no system of pipes to supply running water. The drainage system is necessarily of a primitive type, the dry closet type being the one in use.

THE TOWN possesses two hospitals:

(1) A general hospital with pavilion for epidemic cases.

(2) Home for incurables—a branch of a nerve clinic in Bucharest.

THE GENERAL HOSPITAL is situated in the centre of the town on a slight eminence, a few yards from the main street. It consists of two wards, one for men and one for women. The cases are mixed, medical and surgical cases being nursed in the same ward. There are fifteen beds for men and fifteen for women. In addition there are two small wards for clean surgical cases, each containing two beds.

THE BEDS are of the usual hospital type, but placed close together about three feet apart. The mattresses and pillows are stuffed with straw and are very hard. The patients wear their own clothes. This being summer, less than one half of the beds were in use. The villagers refuse to come to hospital in summer, when there is work to be done in the fields, unless in cases of stern necessity. A belief in witchcraft and secret remedies is prevalent, so that progress as regards treatment is hampered. Epidemics of dysentery and typhoid are common. Tuberculosis is widespread, and goitre is found in all the villages in this valley. Cretinism in the children is untreated, and most villages contain cases. No medication of the water supply is undertaken. Pulmonary tuberculosis is treated in sanatoria, but other cases of tuberculosis are admitted here. Cancer is also common, but is not dealt with here—the cases are sent to Bucharest for radium treatment.

RUMANIA

162 The preliminary figures of the 1930 census do not give details of the various national minorities inhabiting Rumania, and the more reliable estimate will be found in Winkler's "Racial Statistics," om which the following data are extracted:—

Germans	713,564
Russians	174,293
Jews	778,094
Magyars	1,463,373
Bulgarians	351,328
Yugo-Slavs	52,570
Czechoslovaks	31,884
Ukrainians	500,484
Various	404,104
Total	4,469,694

634 The whole kingdom is administratively divided into 71 departments, but in the case of Transylvania, Maramureş, Crishana, and the Banat the departments created out of these provinces do not correspond exactly with the frontiers
● 161 of the latter. The density of the population per sq. km. is 63 in the old kingdom, including the Dobrudja, 64 in Bessarabia. 82 in Bucovina, and 54 in Transylvania.

163 The birth rate for 1930 was 35 per thousand, while the
165 death rate was 19.4, and the excess of births over deaths reached 278,722, this being the largest figure recorded since the war.

162 The total urban population formed 20.13 per cent, while the rural population formed 79.87 per cent. There were 172 towns, some of which must be mere villages, as at least two are shown to possess less than 1,000 inhabitants. The following towns have a population of over 20,000: Bucarest 631,288, Chişinau 117,016, Cernauţi 111,147, Iassi 102,595, Galatz 101,148, Cluj 98,569, Timişoara 91,866, Oradea 82,355, Ploeşti 77,325, Arad 77,225, Braila 68,310, Craiova 63,063, Brasov 59,234, Constantsa 58,258, Satu-Mare 49,917, Sibiu 48,013, Targul-Mureş 38,116, Buzau 36,115,

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CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

/3/ The Kingdom of Greater Rumania which emerged
/6/ after the Peace Settlement of 1919 covered an area of about 118,000 square miles, which is more than Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and had a population of about 15,500,000. Greater Rumania comprised the Old Kingdom (Wallachia, Moldavia and the Northern Dobrudja) and the New Territories, namely the Eastern Banat, the Crisana, Maramures, Transylvania, the Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Southern Dobrudja.[1] In relation to the position before 1914 both the territory and population of Rumania had been doubled. Still more important, the Kingdom was transformed from a national State into a multi-national State.[2]

/33 The chief geographical features of Greater Rumania were the Carpathian Mountains, which sur-

[1] The Southern Dobrudja was Bulgarian up to the end of the Second Balkan War when it was ceded to Rumania; it was returned to Bulgaria by the Central Powers during the Great War, re-ceded to Rumania in 1919 and ceded again to Bulgaria in 1940.

/62 [2] The population of the Old Kingdom in 1915 was about 7,625,000. The population of Greater Rumania in 1920 was 15,541,000 and had risen by 1940 to over 20,000,000 (an average yearly increase of about 233,000). The most numerous of the minorities were the Hungarians and Szekelys of Transylvania and the western provinces; the Jews, living all over Rumania; the Germans, living in the Banat, Transylvania and Bessarabia; Ukrainians and Russians in the Bukovina and Bessarabia; Bulgarians in the Dobrudja, Bessarabia and the Banat; Turks, Tatars, Gypsies, Serbs, Poles, Armenians, Greeks, etc.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
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CHAPTER III

THE PROVINCES

000 *In this chapter each of the provinces of Greater Rumania is described separately and certain practical information is given about each. This will enable the reader, should he visit any province, to know the essential facts about it: it will also make it easier for the student of war to judge the effects of military operations upon each of the several parts of Rumania. The general reader may, however, prefer to complete the story of Rumania as a whole by proceeding to Chapter* IV *and continuing to the end of the book, before reverting to this more detailed chapter.*

THE REGAT

631 Greater Rumania was composed of ten historical and geographical units, which in their turn formed two groups: the Old Kingdom or the 'Regat', representing the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and the province of Dobrudja; and the New Territories, acquired after the Great War and partly lost in 1940. Of the two groups the New Territories contained both a greater area and a more numerous population than the Regat.[1] Historically and economically the most important and the greatest in area of all the territories of the Old

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[1] The area of the New Territories covered 157,000 square kilometres (about 62,800 square miles), that is, 53 % of the total. The population of the New Territories in 1939 was 9,425,000 compared with just over 9,000,000 of the Old Kingdom. However, over half of all arable land was situated in the Regat.

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[Oltenia]

Kingdom is Wallachia, which is formed by Oltenia and Muntenia.

OLTENIA. Oltenia is the western part of the principality of Wallachia. Its boundaries are, in the west and north the Carpathians, in the east the River Olt, and in the south the Danube. The province covers an area of about 9,640 square miles and has a population of about 1,900,000. The soil of the sub-Carpathian hills consists of sand and clay and gravel and is well watered by numerous rivulets. Here are some densely populated valleys, bordered by rich forests and grazing grounds. Farther south and extending to the Danube lies the fertile plain composed of the rich 'yellow earth'. Its character is similar to that of the lowlands of Muntenia, but it lies on a higher level and also has a higher rainfall.

The richest district of this fertile province is the *judet*[1] of Dolj in the south-western corner of Oltenia. From here, and the similarly fertile *judets* of Mehedinti and Romanati, also on the northern bank of the Danube, high-quality maize and wheat have been exported for many years. From the hilly country farther north fruit is the chief export. In the mountainous districts forestry provides the main occupation for the local inhabitants. There is much sheep-breeding, for the grassy slopes provide good grazing.

Apart from the Danube the two most important rivers of Oltenia are the Jiu and the Olt; the latter rises in Transylvania and enters Oltenia through the Red Tower Pass. Oltenia is not rich in mineral resources. There is, however, oil at Govora, west of

[1] Administrative unit.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
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[Oltenia]
[Muntenia]

The Danubian ports of Calafat and Corabia handle wheat exports and also have some valuable industries.

MUNTENIA. To the east of the River Olt extends Muntenia, the other province of Wallachia. It covers an area of about 20,600 square miles and has a population of about 4,500,000. The southern and eastern boundaries of the province are formed by the Danube, the northern frontier by the Carpathians. The land surface and climate of Muntenia are similar to those of Oltenia, but the hilly region south of the Carpathians is narrower. The fertile steppes, Baragan, Burnas, Gavan and Burdeas, are situated on the northern banks of the Danube which floods the adjoining districts and forms many lakes and marshes. The highest peaks of the Carpathians in Muntenia are the Negoi and the Moldovan, both over 7,500 ft. The most important of the many rivers descending from the high mountains are the Dambovita, Jalomita, Arges and Buzau, all of which eventually flow into the Danube. The endless maize and wheat fields of Muntenia are covered in summer with heavy crops and on the steppes great flocks of sheep find their food. In spite of very dry summers and icy winters like those of Russia this region is one of the richest of Rumania and the whole of Europe.

Muntenia differs from all Rumanian provinces in that, in addition to stock breeding, the raising of high-quality crops, fishery and forestry, it possesses a source of wealth which is not found in such abundance in any other part of Europe, the oil fields of Campina and Ploesti. There the hilly, wooded countryside suddenly changes into a modern in-

[The Dobrudja]

part of the Dobrudja. The delta of the Danube is formed by the three arms Chilia, Sulina and St George. It includes an area of about 1,000 square miles, in which water and land, marshes, lakes and islands feed an almost tropical vegetation. The chief communications through the delta are provided by the Sulina canal and by causeways.

The steppes of the Southern Dobrudja yield good crops of wheat and maize, and the pastures maintain great herds of sheep. Mineral resources are confined to some unworked coal deposits, valuable copper near Altantepe, and sulphur.

The Dobrudja is about 9,300 square miles in all: of this some 2,960 square miles were returned to Bulgaria in 1940. The population of the province as a whole is about 850,000. Its main value to the contesting States lies in the Black Sea stretch of coast. The port of Constanza, the greatest and most important on the western shores of the Black Sea, has modern harbour works built at the beginning of this century and covering an area of 60 hectares. It was through Constanza that Rumanian exports used to pass to France and Great Britain. The docks of Constanza are about 30 ft. deep and can, therefore, be used by large, sea-going ships. The harbour facilities include storage buildings for wheat and oil-tanks with a capacity for over 200,000 cubic metres of fuel, which are fed by the pipe-lines coming from Ploesti. Oil can moreover be pumped straight from the pipe-lines simultaneously into four tankers. Another great advantage is that the port is completely ice-free all the winter. Constanza is the administrative centre of the Dobrudja and also a well-known seaside resort. Rail communications

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ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Dobrudja]

[Moldavia]

with the rest of Rumania are provided by the line Constanza-Cernavoda-Bucarest. 361

MOLDAVIA (Moldova[R]). The second of the two original Rumanian principalities is only half as big as Wallachia and its population is about half. Moldavia covers an area of about 15,280 square miles, and is inhabited by about 2,500,000 Rumanians, Jews, Hungarians, Slavs and Germans. 131 161

Owing to its geographical position Moldavia was more exposed to Polish, Russian and also Hungarian influence than Wallachia. After the death of the *voivode* Stephen the Great in 1504, the country became part of the Turkish dominions. From then onwards Moldavia shared the fate of Wallachia. Russian influence, however, naturally made itself felt in greater intensity in Moldavia. The independence of the principality was restored under John Cuza who eventually became the first ruler of the United Principalities. 175

The western boundaries of Moldavia are formed by the Carpathians. In the south the province borders on Muntenia and in the north on the Bukovina, which originally was part of Moldavia. The eastern frontier is formed by the River Pruth. The western part of Moldavia consists of the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and the hill region below. Farther east the country flattens out into the plains which are bordered by the valley of the Pruth. The most fertile districts lie on the western bank of the Pruth and in the eastern corner of the province. The hills, which reach heights of 1,800 ft., are wooded. But there is much fertile soil which produces wheat and maize. There are also vineyards 131 133

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[Moldavia]

[The Banat]

Another important town, and the greatest Rumanian port on the Danube, is Galati with a population of about 75,000. Galati lies about a hundred miles from the Black Sea, but the harbour is so placed that sea-going ships can enter the port through the delta and anchor there all through the ice-free period. From Galati timber, wheat and maize from all over Rumania are sent abroad. Incoming cargoes of industrial goods are unloaded there.

The only line leading directly to Transylvania goes over the Ghimes Pass. The traffic to Bessarabia is carried by four railway lines.

The New Territories

The New Territories, acquired by Rumania after the war of 1914–18 and partly lost since 1940, cover an area of 62,800 square miles and were inhabited in 1940 by about 10,500,000 people. The Banat, the Crisana, Maramures and Transylvania formed, up to 1918, parts of Hungary; the Bukovina belonged to Austria, and Bessarabia was taken from Russia. Many parts of the New Territories were agriculturally and industrially better developed than the Old Kingdom.

THE BANAT. The Rumanian part of the Banat covers an area of about 7,400 square miles and has a population of 1,000,000. The province is bordered in the north by the River Mures[R] (Maros[H], Marosch[G]), in the west by the Yugoslav part of the Banat, in the south by the Danube, and in the east by the Carpathians. The north-western part of the province is

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ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Banat]

[The Crisana]

The high quality of the crops in this province, 241
amongst them wheat, maize, rye, oats, and the high 134
standard of animal breeding, have made the Banat known far beyond the borders of Rumania. The fertility of the soil is due partly to the 'black earth' which, in a greater or lesser degree, is a component of all the arable land. Apart from being an important agricultural region, the Banat possesses valuable industries, forests and minerals. Iron ore and coal 316
are mined in the area of Resita and Anina, where 327
there are great iron and steel works which produce 315
railway equipment and armaments. The Danubian port of Orsova, guarding the western entrance to the 'Iron Gates', also has an oil refinery.

The capital of the Banat is Timisoara[R] (Temes- 361
var[H]) on the Bega with a population of 100,000. In Roman times the fortress of Ripensia was situated here. In Hunyadi's time it was a centre of resistance against the Turks, only second in importance to Belgrade. To-day the town is a great rail and road junction with many factories, banks, commercial houses and cultural institutions. Lugoj, on the Timis, with a population of 20,000, and Caransebes, north of the Porta Orientalis which leads through the mountains of the Banat to the Danube, are marketing towns of some importance.

THE CRISANA AND MARAMURES. Geographically the 131
Crisana is the eastern borderland of the Hungarian [161]
plain. The province covers an area of about 8,400 square miles and has a population of just under 1,500,000. The Crisana lies between Transylvania in the east, the River Mures (Maros[H]) in the south; Hungary (as reduced by the Treaty of the Trianon) in the west and Czechoslovakia in the north.

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[Transylvania]

563 leges. In 1919 they accepted the union of Transylvania with the Old Kingdom. In the inter-war period the Germans in Rumania enjoyed a far better treatment than any other minority, and in Transylvania they were by far the most prosperous community. Nevertheless, the pan-German policy of National-Socialism found many supporters in their ranks.

131 *Vienna Award.* Before the Vienna Award of 1940
648 Transylvania covered an area of 24,600 square miles
[161] and had a population of over 3,250,000, including
200,000 Jews. The decision of the German and Italian Foreign Ministers in Vienna split Transylvania in two, a measure never before carried out during the eventful history of the principality and certainly harmful and unjust to all the parties concerned. There is no doubt that this 'solution', which has only complicated the Transylvanian question and made its real solution more difficult, was made deliberately in order to make both Hungary and Rumania more dependent on Germany's support.

133 *Geography and Products.* The Transylvanian highlands are surrounded on three sides by the high mountain chains of the Carpathians. In the south-west the border is formed by the 'Western Mountains' (Muntii Apuseni), and in the north-west by the hills which eventually merge into the Hungarian plain. The Rivers Mures, Somes and Tarnava divide the highland in three distinct parts, the steppe, the hills and the forests. Parallel with the outer ring of the Eastern Carpathians there runs a belt of volcanic mountains with many small valleys. In the south-east there is the fertile and hilly district of Trei-

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[The Bukovina]

[Bessarabia]

000 small deposits of coal, gold and lead, but the industry of the province is well developed.

361 The capital of the Bukovina is Czernowitz (Cernauti[R]) with over 100,000 inhabitants. The town is situated on a high hill near the Pruth and is a great commercial centre. Here branches of the Austrian banks and some big Viennese businesses remained. The population of Czernowitz, like that of the rest of the province, is very mixed. Economically important as a junction of several trade-routes, Czernowitz has also become a great industrial town during the last fifty years.

648 In June 1940 the Northern Bukovina, including Czernowitz, altogether about 2,260 square miles, was ceded by Rumania to the U.S.S.R. Thereby over 550,000 people, mostly Ukrainians and many Jews, became Soviet citizens.

131 **BESSARABIA.** For over twenty years the province of
• 161 Bessarabia was the eastern frontier region of Greater Rumania. It covers an area of 17,760 square miles and has a population of 3,000,000.[1] Bessarabia is surrounded by natural frontiers: in the north and east by the River Dniester, in the south by the Black Sea and the Danube, and in the west by the Pruth.

133 The north of Bessarabia is formed by a highland about 1,000 ft. high, consisting of fertile arable land which belongs to the 'black-earth' region of the Ukraine. The central area is hilly country, divided

[1] To which were added 120,000 Polish and Ukrainian villagers transplanted from Eastern Poland by the Soviet authorities shortly before their retreat before the German attack in 1941.

TERRITORIAL LOSSES

728 In 1940 Rumania suffered serious loss of territory. First in August, Bessarabia and the Northern Bucovina were occupied by the Russians, then a few weeks later Northern Transylvania was given to Hungary by the Vienna Award, following which the Southern Dobruja was ceded to Bulgaria by the Treaty of Craiova. However, in 1941, Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina were regained, so that the loss of these territories was of only temporary significance.

[151]
[160]

Territory	*Area sq. km.*	*Population in millions*	*Date of Loss*
Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina	50,000	3.3	*August*, 1940
Northern Transylvania	43,700	2.75	*Sept.*, 1940
Southern Dobruja	7,700	0.38	*Sept.*, 1940

The temporary loss of Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina had serious repercussions on the economic situation of the country, which were of wider effect than might be supposed from the limited time of the annexation, because of the loss of the harvests of both 1940 and 1941, the "scorched earth" policy of the Russians and the dislocation of the transport system caused by the necessary re-conversion to standard European gauge from the Russian gauge.

The cession of Northern Transylvania, apart from the mere physical loss of territory and population, caused a severe disruption of the economic system on account of the valuable raw materials involved, and the loss of industry which had been built up on the basis of these raw materials. The capital invested in industry in this area represented some 13 per cent. of total investments in industry in the whole country. The main features were the mineral resources of the Baia Mare district, containing lead, zinc, gold, silver and small quantities of copper, with lead-refining plants attached. In this area deposits of pyrites were fairly considerable and supplied the bulk

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[5a]

A. PRE-WAR CONDITIONS

1. General

241 Agriculture occupies about 80 per cent. of the population of Rumania and contributes the greater part of the national income: but, owing to the importance of the country's mineral-oil [439] production, exports of agricultural products accounted for rather less than half of total exports by value, in the immediate pre-war years.

Total agricultural production, even if there were no exports, would fall seriously short of the real food needs of the country. The poorest are actually [146] underfed, while the majority of the remainder subsist on a diet which, though adequate in quantity, is seriously deficient in quality and nutritional elements.

In her farming Rumania suffers from two inter-related difficulties: rural over-population and low ●[161] food output per acre. There are 16 agricultural workers per 100 acres of farm land, compared with 6 in Denmark and 3 in Britain. Another aspect of this is the extremely small size of most of the farms—75 per cent. of them are less than 5 hectares (12 acres) in extent. Because there is not enough land to go round, most farming families have to eke out a living on holdings which under any system of general farming would be too small to provide an adequate income.

The position would be less serious if a high per-acre food output were achieved. But in fact the Rumanian output per acre is barely one-quarter of that obtained in countries like Belgium and the Netherlands. Rumania pivots her farming on wheat and maize production but, owing to the extensive methods practised, the few livestock kept, and other reasons, per acre yields are among the lowest in Europe.

It is the over-population and land shortage which are largely responsible for agriculture remaining so backward. Having insufficient land the peasant does not produce much for sale, and so cannot afford to purchase fertilisers, good quality seed or better implements. Nor can he spare many acres for fodder crops, since the bulk of his land is needed to grow the food his family eats. And as he cannot buy fodder, he cannot keep many animals. Thus, while there is some scope for agricultural improvements which would ameliorate the peasants' lot, the pre-requisite of farming progress is to find alternative occupations for the surplus population.

423 The system of land tenure is peasant proprietor-
471 ship. This was attained under the Land Reform carried through after the first World War. The effect of this was to divide up and transfer to peasant ownership a large area of land formerly worked in big estates. This revolution in land tenure provided a solution for a long-standing social problem, but its effects on production were unfavourable. The large estates had been run by trained managers, with relatively advanced methods and equipment. Their transfer to ill-equipped, backward and uneducated peasants was followed, for a time at least, by a decline in yields, and consequently in total production and exports.

241 Little progress was made in the period between the two wars in remedying the disadvantages of uneconomic farm sizes, and in raising the low standards of farming. For lack of education the

A. POPULATION

1. General

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Before discussing the labour situation in Rumania, it is essential to point out that a number of substantial changes have taken place between 1930 and 1942. The results of all these are shown in the table below. The last official census in 1930 showed the total population of Greater Rumania as 18,057,000. Allowing for natural increase, the population for 1939 was probably about 20,000,000.

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In August 1940 the U.S.S.R. occupied Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia with a combined population of 3·67 million, while in July 1941 these areas were regained with a reduced population of 3·30 million, the reduction of ·37 million being due to Russian deportations.

In September 1940 Hungary acquired northern Transylvania, including the provinces of Crişana and Maramureş and a population of 2·75 million. This was followed by a further loss of the southern Dobruja to Bulgaria with a population of 0·38 million. Some 200,000 Germans were repatriated from eastern Rumania, mainly to Poland.

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the northern sections of Transylvania and Crişana to Hungary, though it should be noted that a considerable block of Rumanians, of whom over 200,000 have returned as refugees were placed within Hungary by the new frontier. The German minority was little affected by the territorial changes, but some 200,000 from Eastern Rumania were "repatriated," mainly to Poland. The remaining 550,000 are situated chiefly in the Banat and in southern Transylvania. The Jewish population was distributed as follows :—

[162]

Bessarabia and Bucovina	300,000
Moldavia	158,000
Muntenia	87,000
Transylvania, Crişana and Maramures	180,000

(*See* paragraph on Jewish population on page 56.)

The Bulgarian minority has been returned to Bulgaria partly by the new frontier in the Dobruja and partly by the exchange of Bulgarian and Rumanian nationals which has taken place since 1940.

[54c]

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TABLE SHOWING POPULATION CHANGES BETWEEN 1939-1942

	Losses	Gains	Population
Greater Rumania, 1930	—	—	20,000,000
U.S.S.R	3,670,000	3,300,000	—
Hungary	2,750,000	200,000	—
Bulgaria	380,000	—	—
Germany	200,000	—	—
Natural increase in population, 1939-December 1942	—	400,000	—
Totals	7,000,000	3,000,000	—
Population of Rumania, December, 1942	—	—	16,000,000

[54d]